DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 241 233 RC 014 654

AUTHOR Smith, Eldon D.
TITLE Is "Home" Still in the Hills? Staff Paper 153.
INSTITUTION Kentucky Univ., Lexington. Dept. of Agricultural Education.
PUB DATE May 83
NOTE 28p.; For related documents, see RC 014 651-653. Print is light in parts.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adjustment (to Environment); Community Satisfaction; Elementary Secondary Education; *Employment Opportunities; Place of Residence; Residential Patterns; Retirement; Rural Economics; Rural Environment; *Rural Population; Rural Schools; *Rural to Urban Migration; Rural Urban Differences; School Funds; United States History; Urban Environment; Urban Problems; *Urban to Rural Migration
IDENTIFIERS *Appalachia; *Kentucky; Recession

ABSTRACT

Although there was expectation that the current recession would bring a new wave of Appalachian Kentuckians back to their homeland hills, as had previous recessions, no great "return to the hills" (or even to other areas of the state) has materialized. Unemployment insurance claims by people formerly employed in other states have not increased in Appalachia or in Kentucky generally as the recession of the late 1970's and early 1980's has deepened. Transfers of children to public schools from out-of-state districts have increased only slightly, reaching only about 1970-71 levels. Former Appalachian Kentucky residents appear to be rather completely established in the communities to which they have migrated. Employment opportunities in the region and retirement preferences, not economic insecurity or inability to cope with urban life, appear to be the reasons for most Appalachian return migration. (Author/MH)

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Staff Papers

Staff Paper 153 May 1983

IS "HOME" STILL IN THE HILLS?

by

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RC014654

IS "HOME" STILL IN THE HILLS?*

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*Helpful criticisms of an earlier draft by Dr. John Stephenson, Appalachian Center, University of Kentucky, and by Dr. Lorraine Garkovich, Dept. of Rural Sociology are acknowledged. Editorial counsel of Dr. Patricia Y. Smith has contributed greatly to expositional clarity.

The investigation reported in this paper (No. 82-1-75) is in connection with a project of the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station and is published with approval of the Director.

IS "HOME" STILL IN THE HILLS?

ABSTRACT

Unemployment insurance claims by people formerly employed in other states have not increased in Appalachia or in Kentucky generally as the recession of the late 1970's and early 1980's has deepened. Transfers of children to public schools from out-of-state districts have increased only slightly, reaching only about 1970-71 levels. Former Appalachian Kentucky residents appear to be rather completely established in the communities to which they have migrated. Employment opportunities in the region and retirement preferences, not economic insecurity or inability to cope with urban life, appear to be the reasons for most Appalachian return migration.

Is Home Still in the Hills?

During, and for many years after World War II many Appalachian people left their homes to answer the call of the dollar in the North. For thousands who left, home - real home - was still in the hills. When the factories laid people off, when industries shut down and recession hit, or when they simply could not or did not want to adjust to the urban way of life, large numbers of them came home to their native mountains. But even though real depression has come to the urban industrial north, there are signs of change in the old pattern of return migration. People are not returning to the hills in the way they once did.

The idea of home is a treasured one. But our lives are full of discontinuities. "The phrase 'home town' may well fade from our language in this century," observes social critic Vance Packard in his aptly titled book, A Nation of Strangers.[1] Americans have become so mobile, Packard contends, that we no longer have identifiable home communities to which we can return. Even if we go back to the old place, it may well have in it so few people we have known that we cannot identify it as a true "home town". And even those of our old neighbors and friends who still live there will probably not be a part of a true community of people who know and care for each other. It may be only a "bedroom settlement" for people with little commonality of interest.

The rootlessness of which Packard and others have spoken is not new to the socially fluid larger cities. Although the remnants of polyglot settlements of immigrant ethnic groups in major northern cities have preserved bits of a common cultural heritage, most urban people do not have such a bridge between what is stable and traditional and the fluidity of the modern city. For millions of rural people, especially those from Appalachia and other impoverished regions, migration to urban areas has been a transition from an identifiable home culture and community to a strange and impersonal environment. Their problem in many ways resembles the one confronted by the newly arrived foreign immigrants of an earlier period. They were giving up the familiar comfort, security, and simple pleasures of a rural community, with its highly-defined and more traditionalized social structure, for what they hoped would be an improvement in economic opportunities. Coming from an impoverished region, they wanted to share in modern urban affluence. But the transition was not without psychological costs; and to reduce these to tolerable levels, many settled near, or even with, others of their own kind. Kentucky Avenue in Indianapolis, Indiana was appropriately named; it bisected a settlement of "Kentuckians" (which identified almost anyone with a drawl). But always, these were minorities in a culturally alien setting.

The history of Beech Creek, a small mountain community studied by sociologist James Brown and his associates, is fairly typical of what happened over the course of about a century--from the middle of the nineteenth to somewhat past the middle of the twentieth.[2] From 1850 to 1920 the population increased from 26 to a little more than 150 in what was called the Beech Creek Basin neighborhood. In 1942 it remained about the same. By 1962, despite a high birthrate and many people moving into the neighborhood, so much outmigration had occurred that the population was less than half of the 1942 levels. In 1942 there were 399 residents of this and two other neighborhoods in the broader Beech Creek community. Of these, roughly 65 percent had left Eastern Kentucky by 1961, 51 percent living in Ohio and Indiana.

The people who moved out of Beech Creek and other regions of Appalachia were not always successful in their search for the good life. Many returned, a few permanently. In fact, according to Census data analysed by Brown and his associates, the number of long distance moves[3] out of the subsistence farming counties of Appalachia (similar to Beech Creek) between 1949 and 1950 was only about 40 percent greater than long distance moves back into the area.

The general pattern of a heavy outmigration of people from the region applied to the coal mining areas as well as to the areas of subsistence farming. The trend continued

through the 1950s and early 1960s, but always with a moderate to heavy counter-current of return migration. Despite low incomes and limited job opportunities, "home", remained in the familiar Appalachian Hills.

That there were always large numbers of people who moved back to their home areas after a time, even during the war years and the boom years of industrial growth, is important. It tells us that many of the people who moved away were not very well equipped to compete for urban jobs and some may have found city life distasteful and difficult.[4] If this was the case, we might expect that during major sags in employment in these industrial centers to which they had moved, the backflow, the return of former Kentucky mountain people to their home areas, would increase greatly.

The late 1970s and 1980-82 period has been one of general stagnation and instability for steel, automobiles, construction, household appliance manufacture and other traditional employers of former Kentuckians in the northern urban industrial belt. Chicago, Gary, Hammond, Detroit and its satellites, Cleveland, and other traditional industrial towns in the region have all had relatively high rates of unemployment. All have had heavy influxes of Appalachian migrants.

But what has really happened? Are these former Kentuckians now feeling more acutely than other urban groups

the brunt of the present recession? Is their plight similar to Blacks, Mexican Americans and other minorities with unemployment of above 20 percent or merely at the current very seriouss rate of 10.1 percent (Sept. 1982) for the entire labor force? Has the balance been tipped in favor of a retreat to the security of the familiar hills of Appalachia, to the family and friends that they left behind and, perhaps, to a more austere life in the country?

Former Kentuckians with Roots in the Hills

As we have suggested, there is, or at least there was, a basis for expecting that the current recession would bring a new wave of Appalachian Kentuckians back to their homeland hills. A whole series of surveys of former Appalachians by sociologists in the 1940s and 1950s showed that these rural people found themselves in an alien environment, one which they neither understood nor enjoyed. Titles such as "Hillbillies in Steelville"[5] and "Southern White Laborers on Chicago's West Side"[6] chronicled their difficulties. Economic studies showed that they were not very well prepared by education and experience for the regimentation of factory work. One 1953 study showed that in Indianapolis beginning wages of these predominantly Anglo-Saxon Appalachians were actually lower than those of comparable migrant blacks whose opportunities were probably somewhat reduced by racial discrimination (although better than jobs

at home)[7]. Harriet Arnow's novel, The Dollmaker sensitively portrayed the fictionalized difficulties of a family which had been forced by privation to leave their mountain culture. The survival skills which had earlier served them well became, in an urban-industrial ghetto, inadequate and dysfunctional and the basis for great personal tragedy.[8] Jack Weller's Yesterday's People also focused on the inadequacies of the skills, folkways and attitudes of the mountain culture in a modernized society.[9]

The list of formal social science studies, television documentaries, newspaper accounts and fiction based on informal observation could be greatly extended. There was a consistent general theme; most observers supported the view that native Appalachian residents did not readily adapt to urban life, and that small economic ripples might upset a delicate balance and send them scurrying back to the dependable poverty of their home communities. And they did return in large numbers during layoffs, according to informal reports by local officials, especially in the period during and immediately after a great migration of 1940 through 1960. In fact, many, it appeared, had expected and had made plans to return if things didn't work out. Others had viewed work in the city as a way to accumulate savings in the hope of buying a farm, or, perhaps, a place to retire in more compatible home surroundings. A survey in

Indianapolis showed that nearly half of the migrants from the previous ten years planned or hoped to return to their home area (Figure 1). The Beech Creek studies and a broader 1979 survey in coal mining counties show that having family connections in the area to which they move is important not only to those who move out to seek employment, but also serves as a "highway" for return to home areas.[10] The 1979 survey indicates that a large proportion of those who had returned to the mountain coal counties gave kinship ties as a major explanation. "Home" it appeared, is where other members of their family lived.

How Two-Way Migration Affected Appalachian Farms and Communities

The fact that many people have found no permanent and satisfactory niche in urban areas has caused frustration and disappointment. While small by usual standards, the direct economic costs of abortive moves out of the area have undoubtedly been important to already impoverished people. But the costs to their home communities has probably been substantial.[11] The ebb and flow of people into and out of these Appalachian neighborhoods probably contributed to an inefficient and retarded adjustment in land use. It unquestionably created problems for local communities in their efforts to supply essential public services.

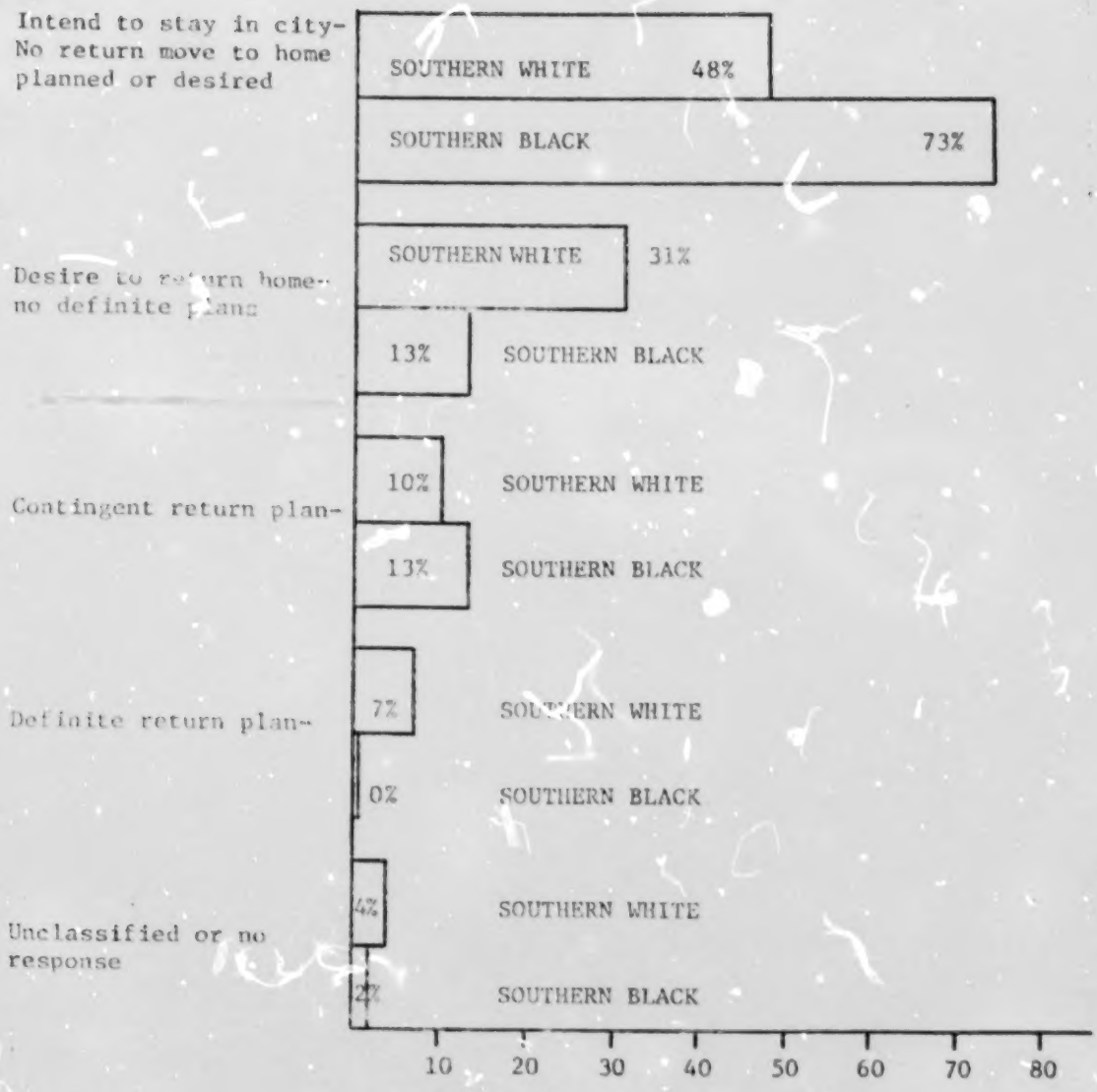
Intend to stay in city-No return move to home planned or desired
SOUTHERN WHITE 48%
SOUTHERN BLACK 73%
Desire to return home-- no definite plans
SOUTHERN WHITE 31%
13% SOUTHERN BLACK
Contingent return plan-
10% SOUTHERN WHITE
13% SOUTHERN BLACK
Definite return plan-
7% SOUTHERN WHITE
0% SOUTHERN BLACK
Unclassified or no response
4% SOUTHERN WHITE
2% SOUTHERN BLACK
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

Figure 1

PLANS AND DESIRES OF INDIANAPOLIS SOUTHERN WHITE AND SOUTHERN BLACK RURAL MIGRANTS TO RETURN PERMANENTLY TO THEIR HOME COMMUNITIES*

*From Eldon D. Smith, "Migration and Adjustment Experiences of Rural Migrants in Indianapolis", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsion, 1954, p. 151.

Dr. Ernest Nesius, a former Agricultural Extension Official in Kentucky, once asserted that a major rural development problem was the result of migrants' fears that unemployment or other adversity would make it necessary to return, coupled with a wish to eventually return "home." In 1956 he stated to the author that large areas of farmland were owned by former rural residents and held as 'cushions' against economic shocks. Much of this land was being neglected, growing up to brush and weeds. Thus, it was losing its value both as base of economic security and for agricultural uses.

The retention of ownership of these small farm tracts as insurance against unemployment in urban areas probably did create inefficiency in land use. Use of these small farms as rural residences and part-time farms for coal miners--with their tradition of unstable employment--it appears, would complicate the process of converting cleared, "improved" lands to less intensive uses such as improved pasture. One means of combining land parcels into efficient size operating units is by leasing. However, annually renewable leases which could be used to combine tracts into units of more economically efficient size provide little incentive for investments with long-term payoff. Even the cost of "bush-hogging" (use of large rotary mower) to control weeds and brush pays off primarily in subsequent

years. And without this pasture maintenance, productivity of prior investments in land clearing, seeding, etc., is soon lost to the growth of weeds and brush. Therefore, the unpredictabilities of urban employment and possible return migrations, plus an unstable coal industry, probably did contribute to the decline of agriculture in many areas of the state, especially in Appalachia.

An additional effect of this uncertainty regarding employment was a sometimes drastic change in rural school enrollment. Informal reports from local school officials in the early 1960's indicated that the sporadic layoffs in major industries created difficult problems for many of the small schools in the mountain area. Reports of increases in school enrollment of twenty-five or even fifty percent over a few weeks were not exceptional. That this sudden return of many migrants should occur was understandable, because a vast majority of those who left the mountain area moved initially to communities where they had friends or relatives. Of 58 randomly selected southern white migrants to Indianapolis, only three did not have friends or relatives in Indianapolis when they first moved there.[12] People from the same community clustered together much as Polish, Germans, Italians and other immigrants had done in northern cities. Many found jobs in the same plants; and labor recruiters often "passed the word" through their present workers when they needed more workers. So when

Table 1. Changes in Land in Farms and Cropland Area Between 1940 and 1969

	Land in Farms			Cropland & Plowable Pasture[3]		
	1940	1969	% Change	1940	1969	% Change
	Acres			Acres		
All Kentucky	20,294,000	15,968,000	-21.3%	13,312,000	9,443,000	-29.1
Appalachian Coal Counties[1]	2,088,000	424,000	-80.0%	766,000	115,000	-85.0%
Appalachian Subsistence Farming Counties[2]	2,535,000	1,651,000	-34.9%	1,210,000	550,000	-54.5%

1/ Formerly Census Economic Area 9.

2/ Formerly Census Economic Area 8.

3/ Denoted as "plowable pasture land" in 1940 Census but classified as cropland pastured in 1969 Census.

layoffs occurred they seriously affected some communities, while others were little affected unless the layoffs were a part of a fairly general recession.

The Industrial Turnaround

Beginning in the mid 1960's there was a major reversal in trends. Growth of industry and job opportunities in the large industrial centers slowed and, in some cases employment actually declined. A major movement of manufacturing to smaller metropolitan areas and rural communities especially in the South and West began.[13]

While manufacturing industry did not grow rapidly in Appalachian Kentucky, growth in Lexington, Louisville, Ashland-Huntington, Cincinnati, Knoxville and the Tri-Cities Area (Kingsport, Bristol, Johnson City) was rapid. In addition, a few smaller towns in or near the mountains had new manufacturing plants which increased employment opportunities. In Kentucky, London, Corbin, Williamsburg, Somerset, Berea, Barbourville, Richmond and Danville were among those which had spurts of growth in the late 1960's and early 1970's. For example, in 1970 Lexington had commuters from 41 counties, in addition to a large number of people who had moved in from rural areas. The more rural growth centers such as Corbin, Williamsburg, and Somerset had commuters from up to a dozen or more counties.[14]

The abatement of growth in the older industrial areas and the development of opportunities near "home," slowed and eventually reversed the exodus from rural Appalachian areas to the North. This does not mean that outmigration ceased; it only means that in-movement and natural population increase became, generally, a bit greater than the outmovement. Total outmovement decreased in most areas. Probably the types of workers that left Kentucky in the past ten to fifteen years have been different from those who left in earlier years, although information on this change in type of migrants is scanty. But the important fact is that it has been nearly a generation since we have had rapid, "wholesale" migration from rural Appalachia. In addition, the slowdown of outmigration happened during the 1960's when we had no important general recessions. Between 1960 and 1971, United States unemployment never exceeded 5.5%.

What this means is that there has been ample time for the earlier wave of migrants to "settle in," to learn how to survive economically and socially. Of the others who were less well equipped for urban life and work, there has perhaps been time for them to experiment and to find their way "home" when things did not work out.

Recent Return Migration to Kentucky

Most jobs are now covered by Social Security (Unemployment Compensation and Old Age and Survivors

Insurance). Filing for unemployment compensation benefits requires the applicant to state the name and location of his or her last employer. Therefore, good indicators of what has happened to migration patterns as a result of the economic sag since 1974 are the numbers of people filing for these benefits whose last employer was located outside of Kentucky. These are predominently people who move to the state or to a region such as Appalachian Kentucky **because** they are unemployed, either in the hope of finding work or in the hope that their unemployment compensation can be stretched, owing to lower costs-of-living.[15]

The trend is very clear, (**Figure 2**) shows. In 1975, immediately following the OPEC oil embargo in 1974, there was an increase to above normal levels in payments to these so-called "out of state" claimants. Appalachia had its share of this brief influx of unemployed. However, as stagnation gave way to recession in 1979 and 1980, the number of those people filing for unemployment compensation who were last employed out-of-state never again closely approached 1975, or even 1970 and 1972 levels. Generally, the trend among regions of the state including the metropolitan regions was quite similar. There was simply no great "return to the hills" (or even to the other areas of the state) as the current recession deepened.

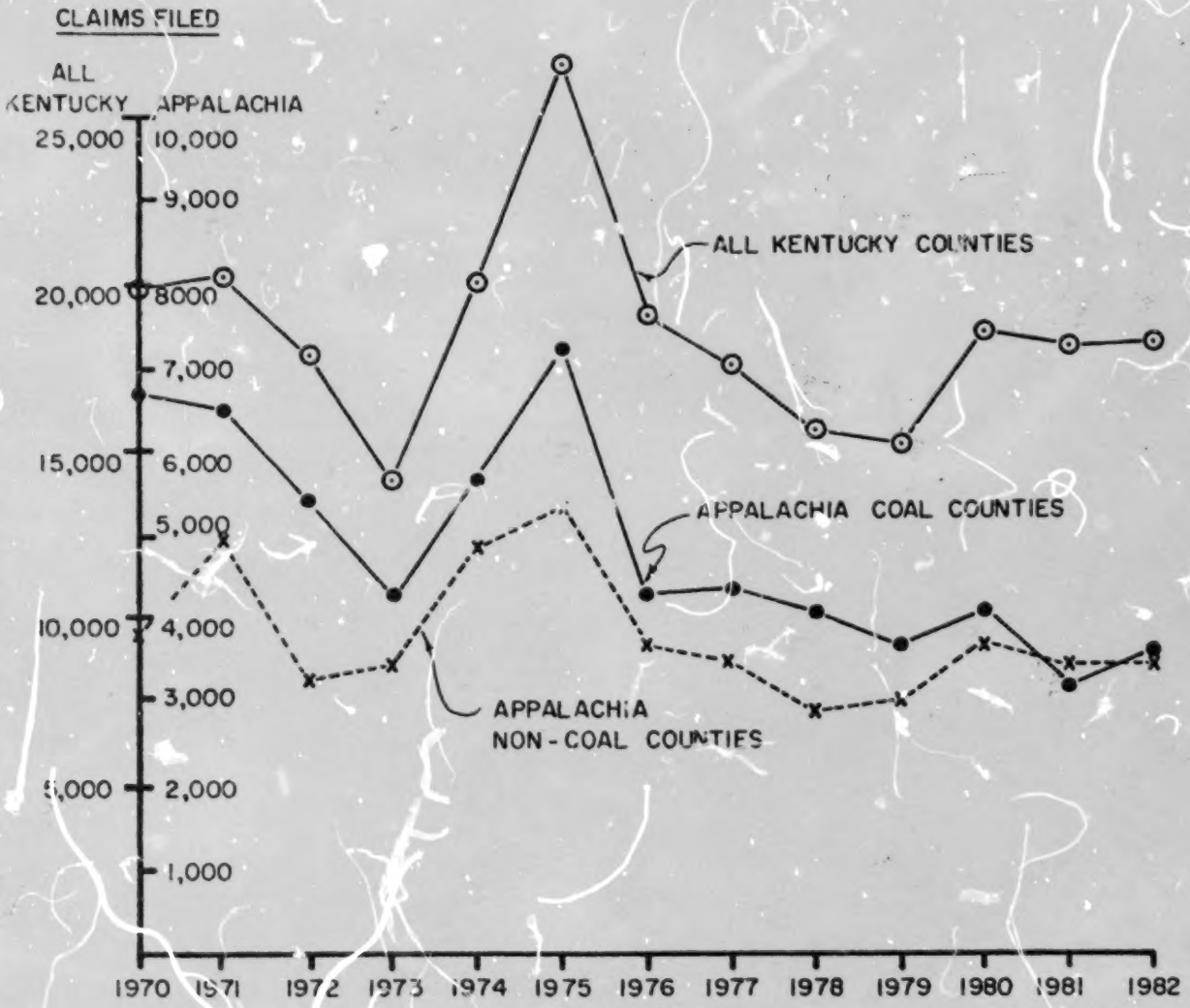

Fig. 2. Unemployment Compensation Claims Filed by Persons Whose Last Employer Was Outside Kentucky.

Source: Special tabulation, Dept. of Human Resources, Commonwealth of Kentucky, Unemployment Insurance Division.

School Transfers from Out-of-State

The former pattern of an influx of school children was not repeated either, at least not on a widespread scale (Figure 3). Transfers from out-of-state districts to Appalachian districts during the school year increased slightly in 1974, 1975, and 1976. However, most of this was in the coal counties which were experiencing a temporary 'boom'. In the rest of the period they declined. Transfers into Kentucky reached their lowest point in 1980 when unemployment in the northern industrial centers was increasing rapidly.

To some extent this result could be expected. Rapid outmigration had always been concentrated among the younger adults, mostly under 40 years of age. But the children of migrants who had left in the great exodus of the 1940's and 1950's have long ago finished school, mostly married and established families of their own. The small "bulge" in 1974 and 1975 undoubtedly represented a combination of the children of much less numerous unemployed recent migrants with the people who had moved in to take jobs in the mines and related businesses.

Coming Home to Jobs

What we have now, it appears, is a different type of migration to rural areas. Population in rural counties of Kentucky definitely grew between 1969 and 1979 as it did in Lexington, Louisville, and the other metropolitan areas.

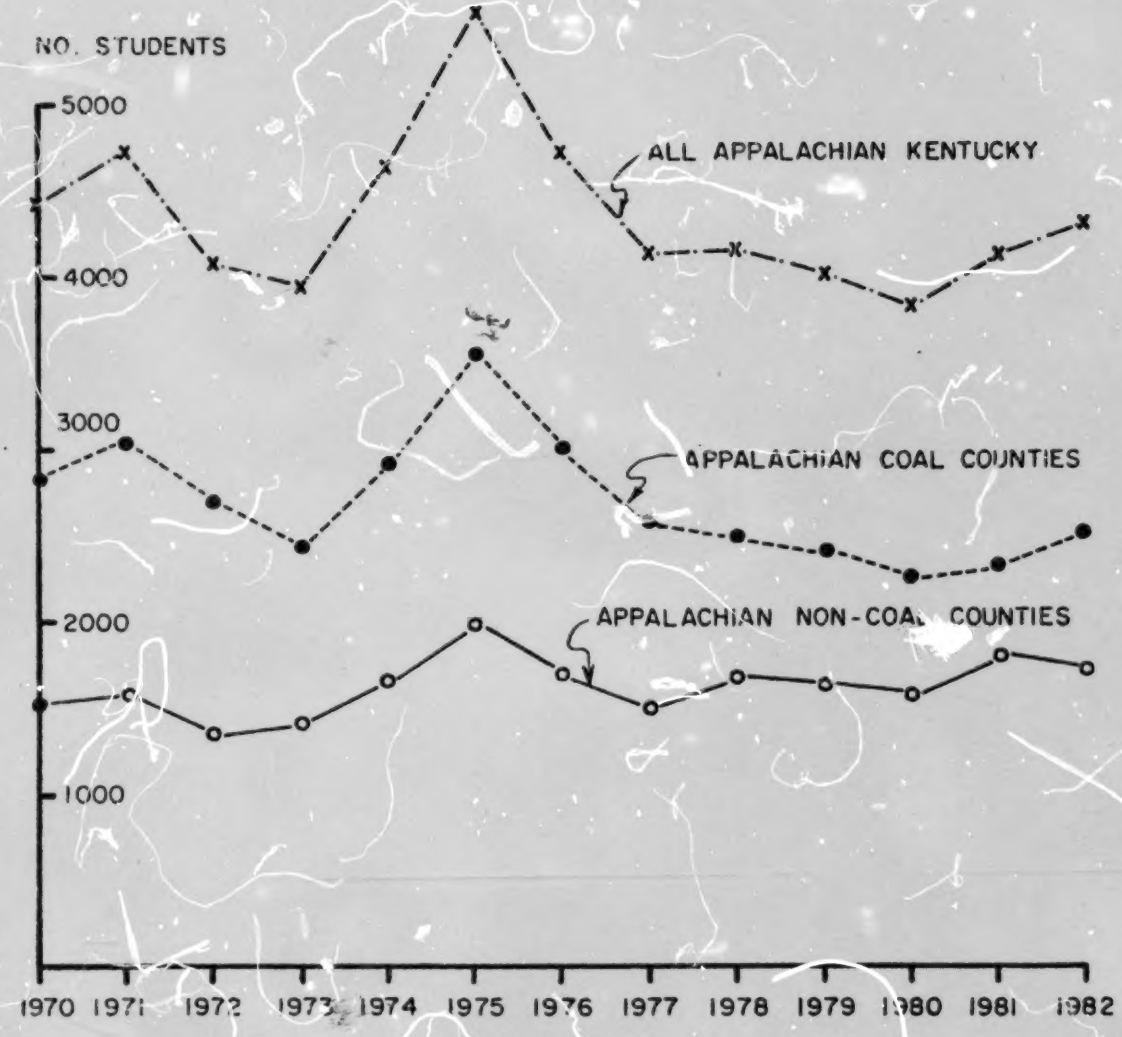

Fig. 3. Within School Year Transfer to Appalachian Kentucky Schools From Non-Kentucky School Districts.

Source: Special tabulation from records of Kentucky Dept. of Education.

Some of this is still a retreat from the job insecurity and other problems of the large northern cities. Some is also accounted for by retirement to surroundings that are more pleasant and less expensive than the congested inner-city communities. But much of the migration to Appalachia and other rural Kentucky regions is of a different quality from that of former years. In the past 10 to 15 years Kentuckians who have been returning have been returning in greater proportions to something rather than retreating from the harsh realities of job insecurity and social environments to which they could not readily adapt.

Sociologist Lorraine Garkovich has surveyed migrants to seven coal producing counties in Appalachian Kentucky. A large proportion of these recent migrants reported "ties to the area" including family connections as a reason contributing to their decision to move there.[16] Does this contradict the conclusion that, in general, these ties are less close than they once were? Does it mean that retreating to the Appalachian area because of unemployment or inability to cope with urban life is likely to be in the future a continuing trend? Apparently not. The proportion of migrants in the labor force was actually above average for the area. In addition, a 1980 U.S. Department of Agriculture survey showed that people who had moved into a nine-county area of Southeastern Kentucky since 1974 had better than average educational preparation than long term

residents, and that seventy percent of these were return migrants.[17] They also had higher average annual earnings than long term residents.

In the current (1981-1982) rather severe downturn in the economy there are few job openings in rural areas or anywhere else. Most of the manufacturing industries that have created new jobs in rural areas are closely tied to national and even international firms. Anaconda, Firestone, General Electric, Sylvania, Rockwell, Whirlpool, Eaton Industries, American Greetings, and many others with familiar names have branch plants in smaller communities in Kentucky. Still other plants with less familar corporate names are linked to larger corporations. Many supply components for goods assembled by national and international firms. Thus, rural areas have become more closely linked to the national economy and layoffs in these rural area plants have occurred just as they have elsewhere.

Growth in service industries such as stores, restaurants, utilities, and the like is closely linked to manufacturing and other basic industries such as coal and agriculture.[18] And we can expect little, if any, expansion in these basic industries until the present recession gives way to more prosperous times. Even then, the pace of growth of manufacturing in rural areas may not be as rapid as before. National trends in growth of manufacturing were slowing long before the present recession

and these trends will affect growth in Appalachian Kentucky. Service industries such as insurance, finance, and wholesaling have been concentrated in urban areas. It is possible that these may decentralize if costs of travel increase, and if the facilities of small efficient computers and other high technology facilities dilute the advantages of large cities. However, this is not yet a clear-cut trend. It may or may not develop, partly depending on how well rural communities prepare their workers for an age in which technical skills, rather than the ability to perform relatively low-skill manual routines, will be increasingly in demand.

The return of former residents to Appalachia will probably continue. The quietude of the country as a place to retire has its appeal to many people. But will the type of worker who returns more likely be a trained, employable person, not one who is retreating from the adversity of unstable employment in urban industry? In some vague nostalgic way, "home" for some may still be in the Appalachian hills. However, present indications are that the ability and willingness to return there without the prospect of a good job has waned and is likely to be more infrequent. Increasingly, it would appear, return migrants are likely to be those who have established productivity and the credentials to get a job which will support them and their families. Emotional ties to the area remain, but the

data suggest that they are not so powerful nor for so many as there once were. If they are not returning in this period when unemployment is above any year in four decades, it seems extremely doubtful that they will return except to jobs or to retirement.

In the "flood tide" period of rural to city migration between 1940 and 1960, rural areas such as Appalachia could with some justification claim that they were exploited. They bore the burden of taxes which supported the basic schooling and other services which made employment of its exported labor supply profitable to the major industrial users. This schooling was of inadequate quality and short duration relative to that provided in the more affluent cities and better farming areas. However, its cost has typically represented a higher proportion of disposable income of families in poor rural areas than is typical of either commercial farming areas or urban districts. Costs of providing schooling through high school were estimated by Sjo, et al, to be about $6,200 per pupil in 1960, which is equivalent to nearly $18,000 at 1981 prices.[19] To this was added the burden of supporting, in part, the cast-off, hard-core unemployed for whom the industrial centers did not provide employment and did not train so that they could be productive. A large proportion of these "failures" drifted back to their home communities. The ebb and flow of outmigration and return migration when the job market sagged

complicated the problem of rural school districts and local governments in rationing an always meager budget.

While there is still migration from and return migration to Appalachia, the balance has shifted. The rapid growth of manufacturing in southeastern rural areas during the 1960's and early 1970's created a net inflow of employable people. This growth has tapered off and is not likely to again reach former levels, neither is a rapid outmigration from the areas with low income probable. Therefore, the burden of financing the development of human resources for the northern industrial centers is unlikely to be placed again on the shoulders of those areas least able to bear it. Yet the widespread poverty in these rural areas is the legacy of genuine exploitation in an earlier time. And that earlier time, unlike the present, was one when Appalachians in large numbers found their livelihood in the northern cities but their "home" in the hills.

FOOTNOTES

1. Vance Packard. A Nation of Strangers, N.Y., David McKay Co. 1972.

2. James S. Brown, Harry Schwartzweller and J.J.Mangalam. Mountain Families in Transition. Pennsylvania State University Press 1971.

3. Long distance moves were moves to economic areas which did not border the subsistence farming region of Appalachian Kentucky, a group of 17 counties lying north and westward from the main coal producing counties (Regions 8 and 9, respectively as then defined by the Census). Beech Creek is located in the subsistence farming region.

4. John Sanders, Some Aspects of the Economics of Return Migration: With Special Reference to the Eastern Kentucky Coal Fields. M.S. Thesis, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Kentucky 1967.

5. Rosemary Deyling. Hillibillies in Steelville. M.A. Thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. 1949.

6. Lewis Killian. Southern White Laborers on Chicago's West Side. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago. 1949.

7. Eldon D. Smith, Migration and Adjustment Experiences of Rural Migrant Workers in Indianapolis. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsin, 1953. (Done under financing by the Department of Economics, University of Chicago).

8. Harriet Arnow. The Dollmaker. NY: Collier Books 1954.

9. Jack Weller, Yesterdays People. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

10. Lorraine Garkovich, "The Population Turnaround in Contral Appalachia: A Focus on Eastern Kentucky Coal Counties" (Forthcoming) Appalachian Journal Summer 1982. pp. 4-5.

11. The costs to home communities of this rather inefficient labor market were recognized in several earlier studies and in the findings and supporting reports of the President's National Commission on Rural Poverty issued in 1967 and 1968. See the People Left Behind Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office. Sept. 1962, pp. 6-7; and Part II, "Mobility and Migration: in Rural Poverty in

the United States"; Washington, D.C.:U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1968, pp. 149-220.

12. Smith, op cit p.65.

13. Claud C. Haren, "Location of Industrial Production and Distribution." Rural Industrialization: Problems and Potentials. Larry Whiting, ed. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1974. pp. 3-26.

The Decentralization of U.S. Employment, 1969-76. Industrial Development Note 72. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Science and Education Administration, Extension Community and Rural Development October 29, 1979.

14. Kentucky Department of Commerce. Commuting Patterns of Kentucky Counties. Frankfort: Commonwealth of Kentucky. 1973. Note that data were for counties, not cities. Corbin is partly in Laurel and part in Whitley County.

15. People voluntarily terminating ("quitting") jobs are generally not elegible for immediate unemployment compensation benefits.

16. Garkovich, op.cit.

17. Economic Development Division. Employment and Population Growth in Nine Nonmetro Kentucky Counties. Staff Report AGES 811210. Washington, D.C.: Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, January 1982.

18. "Basic Industries" produce primarily goods and services which are "exported" to firms or individuals which are located outside the local economy. Linkage may be "forward" through demand created by added payrolls, or "backward" into firms supplying component parts, raw materials, utility services, etc.

19. John Sjo, James Trapp and Robert Munsen. State Costs and Benefits from Education. Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 561. Manhattan: Kansas State University.